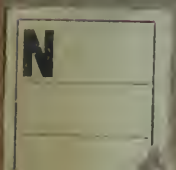
The case of opposition stated, between the craftsman and the people.

London, 1731.



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THE

CASE

OF

OPPOSITION

STATED,

Between the

CRAFTSMAN

AND THE

PEOPLE.

Occasioned by his PAPER of *December* the 4th, 1731.

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THE CASE OF OPPOSITION STATED, &c.

THE Paper before us is an APPEAL TO THE PUBLICK; it contains a Recapitulation of the Labours of the *Craftſman*, an exalted Account of his Merits, and is wrote to create an Opinion in the World, that the *Power of the State* is at preſent employed againſt the *Friends of the People*.

The Queſtion therefore in this Caſe will be, Whether thoſe Men who make theſe Appeals, deſerve well of the People to

whom they appeal? Whether they have done their Country Service or Damage by the Courſe of their boaſted Writings? Whether they had even the Intention of doing Good to the Publick? And whether their pretended Virtues are not real Crimes? Crimes in the Eye of Reaſon and Conſcience, though neither Laws or Courts of Juſtice ſubſiſted, and though neither had any effect in puniſhing or reſtraining them?

Their partial and inſincere Account of their own Proceedings hath a manifeſt Tendency to create unjuſt Compaſſion in their Behalf, and Reproach againſt thoſe whom they are intereſted to make odious. In detecting the little Arts of their diſingenuous Attempt, I prevent that unrighteous Odium which they have endeavoured to raiſe; and in preventing ſo great a Wrong, I diſcharge the Duty of an honeſt Man.

Summoned by the APPEAL which they have made, and warranted by the neceſſity of a Reply, I may without further Apology or Preface review the Proceedings of the laſt *Five Years*, trace the Steps which have been taken to change the Adminiſtration, and ſhew the conſummate Honeſty of thoſe whoſe Violence hath been employed in this extraordinary Enterprize.

If we turn our Eyes to the Times immediately preceding this bitter and vindictive Strife, Was not all the World at Peace, and the People of *England* happy? Neither Foreign Broils threatned them, nor Domeſtick Feuds diſtracted them; they were ſatisfied with the Powers above them, which gave all juſt Protection to them. Thoſe who ſince became the warmeſt Men againſt the Government, were then equally warm for the Government. They aſſiſted their Sovereign with Zeal and Vigor, to puniſh the Diſturbers of his Reign, and the Conſpirators againſt his Title. They thought that all our Enjoyments, as a free and great People, were owing to the Eaſe and Safety of a Prince, without whom we had been loſt and undone. The Maſs of the Multitude concurred in the ſame reaſonable Sentiments, and the Crown of *Great Britain* had all that Weight Abroad, which could poſſibly ariſe from this happy Situation of our Affairs at Home.

What then was done on the Part of the Government, to alter ſuch a Situation of Affairs? Was any Liberty invaded, any Property injured, or any Man, or Body of Men moleſted? Was any Grievance or Innovation introduced or countenanced by the

the Miniſters? Was not all poſſible Care taken by them, to keep all Men eaſy under them? Conſtant Attention was given to the Diſcharge of our Debts. The yearly Supplies asked of the People were moderate, and the manner of raiſing them ſcarcely felt. The utmoſt Wiſdom and Integrity was ſhewn in ſupplying the Courts of Judicature. Publick Credit could never have better Security, nor was Publick Juſtice ever better adminiſter'd. The Church of *England*, and all Orders of the Clergy were, as they always ought to be, protected in their Right. All other Religious Perſuaſions had the largeſt Share of Liberty and Protection: No reaſonable Indulgence was ever asked by them, but it was granted to them. The Kingdom was thus in a happy and flouriſhing Condition, without Alarms from other Nations, without Diviſion among our ſelves. Liberty was uninvaded, Property ſacred, and Juſtice unſuſpected. No Part of the People were either ſuffered, or inclined to hurt the reſt: All were ſafe, and all had Satisfaction.

Could greater Wickedneſs be attempted by Man, or greater Miſchief done to the People, than to change this perfect State of Happineſs; to make the People weary of their own Eaſe, and diſſatisfied with the

the moſt equal Protection; to improve all Accidents againſt the publick Tranquility; and whatever threatned the State with Diſturbance, to anticipate all the Evils of it, by enflaming and diſtracting the People. In ſhort, to ſow Diſcord in a Nation perfectly quiet, and revive Parties when they begun to be reconciled with each other; to make the Burden of Affairs too heavy a Weight on the Shoulders of the Adminiſtration; and the Populace ſo reſtleſs, as hardly to be ruled by the moſt juſt and reaſonable Meaſures of Government.

When Nations have recovered their Liberties, and ſecured their Conſtitution: When the Invaders of their Rights, and the Enemies of their Country are overthrown and defeated: When the Publick is protected as it ought to be, and the ancient Laws appear to be impartially adminiſtered, no Man can ask or deſire more from the Government of his Country, than to preſerve and continue theſe Advantages. Whatever new Acceſſions of Happineſs, whatever Improvement of his private Affairs may be moſt at his Heart, the Government can have no particular Concern in this. Every Addition to his Fortunes ought to be the Acquiſition of his honeſt Induſtry; and the Protection of equal

equal Laws, which he is entitled to, and which he freely enjoys, allows him, in the Purſuit of his private Intereſt, all poſſible Advantage which can be compatible with the Good of his Country.

The Love of Power, and the Luſt of Lucre, as they cauſe Deſires in Men to ſtand above Equality with Mankind; ſo they prompt Attempts in enterprizing Minds, incompatible with equal Laws, or publick Good. Ambition and Avarice will not be content with a common Share of Wealth and Authority, nor bound their Deſires by the common and honeſt Means of indulging them. Thus the Paſſions of particular Men interfere with the general Intereſts; and urged by the Violence of thoſe Paſſions, particular Men advance their own Views, even againſt the Good of Mankind.

The Generality of the People deſire no more than Liberty to exerciſe their honeſt Induſtry, and Laws to protect their fair Acquiſitions. They ſeek not after Honour or Power; nor are they fond of thoſe Men who happen to enjoy Diſtinctions of this Sort. On the contrary, they are apt to be jealous and ſuſpicious of all who poſſeſs great Wealth, or acquire great Authority: Whilſt thoſe whom Ambition or Avarice

Avarice have taught to envy and covet thoſe glittering Advantages, are conſtant in making Applications to the Jealouſies and Suſpicions of the Multitude; which jealous and ſuſpicious Spirit, if it does not always appear, yet it is at any time eaſily raiſed, and ſometimes Accidents concur to make it more violent. Hence the Malice and Luſts of bad Men are too frequently gratified, whoſe inceſſant Labour it is to make the Great, whom they envy, be jealouſly treated by the Populace; from thence univerſally odious, and thereby more eaſily undone.

Did the People know how little their Happineſs is the Purſuit of thoſe who ſo eaſily draw them into their Quarrels: Did they know how ſeldom thoſe who are moſt clamorous for the Publick, have any Meaning at all beyond their private Intereſts: Did they ſee how eager thoſe very Patriots are to ſell them, who are moſt aſſiduous to court them: Did they ſee the corrupt Applications of thoſe who daily declaim at Corruption, ſee Men pretending that the Treaſures of their Country are laviſhed away by the Adminiſtration, at the ſame Time offering *immenſe Sums*, more than ever were raiſed, merely to *outbid* the Miniſters: Did they conſider that there is not a Meaſure of Govern-

ment, which these Men presume to defame as a *dirty Job*, but what they themselves would comply with, nay even go beyond it, could they have the Honour and Favour of being employed in transacting it: Did the People see the *Malice* and *Selfishness* of these publick Spirits, their cruel Revenge against all who set Bounds to their Schemes of acquiring more Power than is safe, and engrossing more Wealth than is honest, their unsatisfied Desires not even content with large Estates of many Thousands *per Annum*, but violently bent to enlarge them, even by any Means: Did they compare their real Selfishness with their pretended Disinterestedness; their private Passions against Particulars, with their false Pretension to Zeal for the Publick: Did they consider that all the Violence of such Men against Particulars would, if their Views should be at any Time opposed by the Publick, turn it self with equal Fury against the Publick; and that they labour with so much Industry to destroy the Administration, only because the Ministers are the Medium and the Barrier between themselves and the Publick, which must become their Prey, when the Means of Prevention are removed: Did they see these Things, and that they do not see them, is at all Times wholly owing to Neglect or Inattention; They would never be moved or agitated, carried away

miſled by the Arts of Ambition. Aſpiring Men might envy Greatneſs, and covet Power, yet neither their Spleen would be ſhared, nor their Hopes encouraged by the People. Mankind would be wiſer than to divide into Parties, and they would leave thoſe who act only for themſelves, to act altogether by themſelves.

That ſuch is the Caſe very often between the People, and thoſe who profeſs themſelves Patriots, Hiſtory and Experience demonſtrate in numberleſs Inſtances. Indeed how ſhould it be otherwiſe, when Men neither better nor wiſer, but too frequently worſe than the reſt of the World, ſet themſelves up as poſſeſſed of all the Wiſdom and Goodneſs left in the World: When Men who have had immenſe Donations, Favours and Bounties from the Crown, oppoſe themſelves to the Diſtribution of Favours by the Crown; and after having obtained large Inſtances of Royal Grace, declaim againſt the like Inſtances to others, as detrimental to the Publick. In ſuch Caſes as theſe, where Men would aſſiſt all the Schemes and Meaſures of the Government, provided they were favoured with a Share to their own Wiſhes in that Government; and when ſuch Men really have aſſiſted the Government, whilſt their own Views

were ſatisfied; and ever ſince their private Views could not be ſatisfied, have oppoſed the Government: I ſay, In Caſes like theſe, where ſuch Men cannot poſſibly declaim at any Meaſures of Government but what they adviſed and approved of, whilſt it was their private Intereſt to do ſo; is it not plain and manifeſt that they declaim againſt them now, becauſe it is not their private Intereſt to approve them? And is ſuch an Oppoſition as this the Cauſe of the People? Or whoſe Intereſt do thoſe Men act for, who act from ſuch Motives?

The Struggle between the *Whig* and *Tory* Parties for the Succeſſion to the Throne, ended in the Victory gained by the *Whigs*, who fixed that Prince, and that Family on the Throne, whom they had always wiſhed to ſee there. The Motives of Prudence and Gratitude induced the late King to chuſe thoſe Men for his Servants, who had been his Friends; and to look upon thoſe as his *natural Support*, who had been his *conſtant Adherents*. The *Whigs* being thus admitted into Truſt, and the *Tories* excluded, the latter became Mutineers againſt the Government, becauſe they had no Share in the Government; but their Deſigns were not concealed, they complained of their Excluſion from

from Power as their capital Grievance. And having nothing more alarming than this, the People at length saw the Folly of the Clamour, and in the end grew unconcerned at those Complaints, which wholly arose from *private Interests*.

The *Tory Faction* thus declining in Credit, and grown unformidable in their Opposition, the *Whigs* had all the Power and Favour of the Crown to share among themselves; nay, there is a Time still recent in memory, I mean when *Layer*'s *Plot* came before the *British Parliament*, at which time there was not a *Whig* in the House of Commons dissenting from the *Body of the Party*.

The *Tory Interest* grew weak, and the *Whigs* powerful by the Disposition of Favours and Employments. For if the Profit of serving the Publick in Places be computed at any Sum, and this be raised equally upon the People, that Party which is admitted into Trust will have more than a Retribution, whilst the other Party is like a Scale, continually losing Weight, without any new Accession to maintain the Balance; so that in a certain Process of Time the losing Party must quite dwindle to nothing, and the prevailing Party, by continuing in Employments of Profit, must become

come able to purchaſe all the Lands in the Kingdom.

This had an undoubted Tendency to ſecure the preſent Eſtabliſhment on the moſt laſting Foundation, as it would moſt effectually have given the Weight of the *Landed Intereſt* entirely on the Side of the Government, and have lodged the *natural Power* of the State with thoſe who were *natural Friends* to the preſent Eſtabliſhment.

The *whole Body* of the *Whigs* had the higheſt reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Courſe of Things; but it was impoſſible to continue that Satisfaction among them long, when once they begun to differ about their ſeveral Shares of Power and Favour. It was not difficult to make them agree, that all Employments of Truſt and Profit ſhould be divided among themſelves: But how to make the reſpective Allotments, and how to ſatisfy Particulars that what ſhould fall to their ſeveral Shares was as much as properly belonged to them, or that they ought to ſollicit no more than what came reaſonably to their Shares; this was the difficult Task indeed, and this in the nature of Things muſt produce Diviſion; ſo that it was not poſſible by any means in the World to prevent Faction and Oppoſition.

Oppoſition. Had the Adminiſtration been capable of acting with infinite Wiſdom and Juſtice, yet would this Diſagreement of Views and Intereſts among their Friends, at all Events, have procured them bitter and implacable Hatred. No *human Abilities* or *Virtues* could poſſibly prevent this Diſſention; and the Corruption to which it was owing was not in the Miniſtry, but in the Heart of Man. Neither was the Conteſt which proceeded from it a *Struggle for Liberty*, but a *Contention for Power*, influenced by no *Zeal for the Publick*, but by *private Paſſions*; nor conducted for the Good of the People, but altogether for *private Ends*, and for *private Intereſts*.

The preſent Adminiſtration found every thing eaſy at firſt, and all their Friends compliant with their Meaſures; but it was whilſt all their Friends had Expectations, and few or none had met with Diſappointments. But when it was found that under this governing Party it would be impoſſible to gratify all; when ſome had raiſed their Hopes too high, and others had rated their Merits higher; when Competitions aroſe, and Intereſts begun to claſh; when ſome imagined that they had a Right to manage all Things, and many deſired thoſe Things which could not be allowed them, without provoking or diſguſting others; then thoſe who

who had Paſſion enough to quarrel about particular Diſpoſitions, and Pride enough to fancy that they could controul the Management of the whole, begun to form Parties for themſelves, and by all poſſible means to break the *Whig Intereſt*, which was the governing Party, thereby to introduce their own, and over-rule the reſt.

But as theſe *State Schiſmaticks* were too few in number to make a Church of themſelves, they had no other way to make themſelves formidable than to fall in with the Views and Attempts of the *Tories*. Neither was this Conceit practicable, but by mutual Engagements to give them a Share of Power and Favour whenever the governing Party ſhould be overcome, and thoſe who had *long been in* ſhould give way to thoſe who had *long been out*.

Yet even with this Reinforcement of *Whig Renegadoes*, the *Tory Party* ſtill were weighed in the Balance, and ſtill were found wanting. What could then be attempted to break the *Whig Intereſt?* What was neceſſary now to be done, when all the united Squadrons within Doors could make no Stand againſt the *Whigs* on the Side of the Adminiſtration?

To

To divide the People was then the only Attempt that could do any Service in this Caſe. But what had the People to do in the Quarrels of Parties? Or how were they concerned in the Diſpoſition of Places? This would weigh very little with the Publick; and the Multitude could never be taught to believe, that the Nation was ever the worſe, becauſe a particular Man had not the Promotion or Employment which he demanded; neither could it by any means make an *honeſt* ſenſible *Engliſhman* uneaſy, that one was denied the *Seals*, or another refuſed the *Peerage*.

The Buſineſs therefore properly was to perſuade the People that they were ill uſed in general by thoſe who had been ſo unkind to theſe worthy Gentlemen in particular; ſo that making loud Complaints againſt publick Affairs became the Conſequence of private Ruptures; whilſt ambitious Men, not knowing how to make the World intereſt themſelves in *petty Quarrels*, nor able to make the Publick adopt *perſonal Reſentments*, were pleaſed from henceforth to call it a *national Cauſe*, and diſavowed all Regard to leſs important Concernments.

Thus did they profeſs themſelves the Servants of the Publick, that they might make the People their Slaves. In order to get the Publick into their Hands, they laboured to wreſt it from the Hands of the Adminiſtration. In making themſelves dangerous to the King's Intereſts, they meant to make themſelves neceſſary to his Service. By the Danger on one Side, and the Neceſſity on the other, they hoped and expected that they ſhould even compel the Prince on the Throne to the Choice of their own Perſons: And thus by a fatal Election the People of *England* were to become their Poſſeſſion; we were all to have been at their Mercy, who never regarded us otherwiſe than as they thought they could ſell us. Whilſt the Abilities and faithful Behaviour of the Miniſters made the Proſpect of this more diſtant, and the Deſign leſs practicable, their Rage was redoubled againſt thoſe Perſons who gave ſuch Obſtruction to their Scheme.

To carry on this Scheme more plauſibly, they ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that they ſtill continued to be *Whigs*, notwithſtanding that they were governed and led by the worſt and moſt inveterate of the *Tories*. And though they acted in conjunction with the *Patron of the* SCHISM BILL, yet they ſtill

ſtill avowed themſelves zealous Friends to the *Toleration of the Proteſtant Diſſenters*. Nay, though they aſſociated and concerted their Affairs with one who had actually been engaged in the PRETENDER's SERVICE, yet they ſtill inſiſted on their inviolable Duty to the Prince on the Throne, and to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*.

To enlighten the Underſtandings of the People, it was neceſſary next to ſet forth a *Weekly Invective* againſt the Adminiſtration, to miſlead the Ignorant, to inflame the Weak, and to help the Ill-deſigning with Topicks of Clamour and Uneaſineſs. The Jealouſies and the Suſpicions of the People were to be applied to, their Paſſions worked upon, and the Multitude made, every Man of them, as angry as if they had all of them loſt Places, and ſtood in the hopeleſs Condition of thoſe who made all this Uproar about it.

To break the *Whig Intereſt* more effectually, it was diligently propagated, as a ſelf-evident Doctrine, that *Whigs* and *Tories* were the ſame Men, and had the ſame Meaning; that *Party Names* were idle Sounds, which had loſt their Significations; and that there was now no other Buſineſs for *Whigs* or *Tories* than this, that they ſhould all unite *to deſtroy the Adminiſtration*.

That this might become a popular Undertaking, they ſingled out the Perſon of the principal Miniſter, and him they devoted to all the Abuſe with which they could load his Name; without any regard to his Rank or Diſtinction, without any regard to the Character which he had borne among themſelves, without any regard to Truth or Decency, or even common Diſcretion. Every Mode of Slander was quite worn out in this Courſe of defaming him, and the vaſt Fund of political Scandal quite exhauſted. Not only his perſonal Character was ſtretched upon the Rack, but his *private Life* and *Family Affairs* brought before their tremendous Inquiſition. Proceeding for five Years together in this tedious, unwearied Attempt of making a Miniſter odious, under whom the Publick was ſafe, and with whom the People were ſatisfied, from whom theſe Men had received no Inſults to their Perſons, or Attacks upon their Fame, but on the contrary all the Kindneſs and Indulgence that any Miniſter could ſhew them, more indeed than they could expect, and much more than they could pretend to; inſomuch that Strangers, who might take a View of their Conduct, muſt think the Cuſtom of this Kingdom to be more prodigious than any thing on Earth: They acted as if it was a Maxim

in

in *Britain* to divide the People into angry Parties whenever any proud ambitious Man hath a private Quarrel with a Miniſter; and to change the Adminiſtration it ſelf, becauſe the imperious haughty Humour of an aſpiring Malecontent *wills that it* SHALL *be ſo.*

Such was the wild Riot, the lewd unhallowed Licentiouſneſs of Men, who being uneaſy and diſappointed in their private Affairs, carried the Quarrel into publick Proceedings, and endeavoured to inſpire the People with all their *Violence* without their *Provocations.*

Soon after theſe private Quarrels at Home had thus occaſioned the forming of Parties among us, the Affairs of *Europe,* and the Intereſts of her Kings, which are always in a State of Fluctuation, ever prone to change, and often tending to Diſorder; theſe begun to ſhew an angry Aſpect, and this encouraged our diſſatiſfied Party to renew their Rage. When all Men ought in this Caſe of common Danger, to have united for the Preſervation of their Country; when the Safety of all required the Aſſiſtance of all, They not only denied their own Help, but endeavoured with all their Might, to diſable thoſe whoſe Duty and Intereſt, and

zealous Care it was to ſave and preſerve us.

In all our Diſputes with Foreign Powers, they conſtantly eſpouſed the Prince who acted againſt us: And when the Crown of *Spain* demanded GIBRALTAR of this Nation, theſe faithful *Engliſhmen* took much Pains to ſupport thoſe Demands; proving as far as they poſſibly could carry the falſe Pretenſion, that the SPANIARDS had a Right to the Place; and that a LETTER which *ſubjected it to the Power of Parliament*, was a *poſitive Promiſe* to give it up.

When the only Debate between *Great Britain* and *Spain* was the Affair of GIBRALTAR: When the *Spaniards* declared that they would obſerve no Terms of Peace or Friendſhip with us, unleſs we ſurrendered it to them: When the King, and his Adminiſtration, reſolutely bent to maintain the Poſſeſſion, refuſed to hearken to thoſe Demands, fortified the Place, ſupported it againſt the Siege, and ſtood the Hazard of all Events, rather than loſe it: At that very Time did theſe Men foment a moſt unnatural Jealouſy, that the Miniſtry ſecretly deſigned to ſurrender it: And at the ſame Inſtant that they themſelves vigorouſly ſupported the *Spaniſh Claim*,

Claim, they charged it as a Crime on the Adminiſtration, that they privately favoured that Claim, although the Miniſters openly maintained our Poſſeſſion againſt the *whole Power* of *Spain*.

When the King, and his Adminiſtration, had ſhewed the firmeſt Reſolution in preſerving that important Place: When both Houſes of Parliament had, on the Motion of the Miniſtry, ſolemnly laid before His Majeſty their concurring Reſolutions, declaring their entire Dependance on him, that he would preſerve his undoubted Right to that Place: When his preſent moſt Sacred Majeſty had pledged his Royal Faith to both Houſes, in Anſwer to that Addreſs: Yet did theſe Men proceed even to ſuggeſt, that notwithſtanding this moſt ſolemn Act of the whole Legiſlature, and againſt the Declarations of KING, *Lords* and *Commons*, the Miniſters had by a SECRET ARTICLE, agreed to give up *Gibraltar*.

In Relation to the OSTEND COMPANY, which drew the *Imperial Court* into the Quarrel, they who before that Miſunderſtanding, treated it as Criminal in the Adminiſtration to ſit ſtill, and ſuffer that Company to trade in the *Indies*, even *They* made it criminal in the Miniſters to differ

differ with the *Imperialiſts* about that Company: And what they had inſiſted on as a Duty, became a Miſdemeanor when it was complyed with. We of all Nations, *they ſaid*, ought to prevent Interlopers from running away with our Trade; and yet preſently after we were taught a new Leſſon: The DUTCH, *they told us*, were the Parties more properly concerned to oppoſe ſuch Interlopers; and we, *it ſeems*, had little or no Concern in the Caſe.

As all the Princes who had any Miſunſtanding with us, were ſure of their Countenance and good Offices; ſo whatever Nation continued in Alliance and Friendſhip with us, was the Subject of perpetual Invective. Their fierceſt Rage turned againſt *France*, whilſt the *French* were ſuppoſed to be cordially in our Intereſts. They were continually abuſing and reviling that Court, and their Miniſtry, whilſt they acted in Conjunction with ours. They alarmed the whole Nation about the Repairs of DUNKIRK, in hopes of diſtreſſing our Councils by that Means. They raiſed a Clamour, even that Seven hundred and fifty *Iriſh Recruits* ſhould be deſired by the *French*, whilſt they had Fears that any good Offices on either Side, might contribute to the Harmony between the two Nations. But as ſoon as ever they

they ſaw the Scene of Negotiation changed, and that the *French* would be no longer neceſſary or uſeful to the *Britiſh* Intereſts, their Fury againſt the *French* Miniſtry immediately relented, the *Cardinal* had Peace from that Moment; and from thenceforth they never ſo much as aſked one Queſtion about the *State of Dunkirk*, becauſe their Clamours againſt the *French* could have no further Tendency to hurt the *Britiſh* Adminiſtration.

The GERMANS were their great Favourites, as long as the *Imperialiſts* were at Variance with the *Britiſh* Nation. The Agreement with that Court was mightily preſſed by them, whilſt they thought it was impracticable. They repreſented it as our only *natural Alliance*, as the only Accommodation that could ſave us from Ruin. They boaſted it as their *darling Meaſure*. The Miniſters were moſt inſolently told by a *certain* worthy *Perſon in Publick*, that *if they would at laſt come into this Meaſure; if they would comply with thoſe Terms which* HE *had ſo long* DICTATED *to them; why then he would anſwer for all his Friends, that they would ſupport the Adminiſtration.* And how did theſe Gentlemen behave, when the firſt Reports were ſpread Abroad of this Accommodation? Why, they publiſhed a HAGUE

LETTER, repreſenting this Accommodation as *Perfidious*, *Scandalous* and *Dangerous*, as a Breach of Treaties, a Compact that would unite *France* and *Spain* againſt us; a Project that would involve us in a bloody and expenſive War; ſo that what they had preſſed upon the Miniſters as abſolutely neceſſary to ſave us all from Ruin, when it was comply'd with, was treated by them, as what would involve us all in Ruin: What they recommended as a moſt *natural*, *prudent*, and *honourable* Alliance, became, in their Opinions, when it was concluded, a moſt *perfidious*, *villainous*, *dangerous* Meaſure. And thus the Miniſters were to be made not only odious, if they acted againſt the Advice of theſe Patriots, but alſo equally odious if they purſued that Advice. Reſolved and determined to defame them in every Shape, they abuſed them for not doing Things, which when done, they equally abuſed them for doing; and ſuch Meaſures as could not ſucceed, they made to be abſolutely neceſſary; yet when theſe Meaſures were effected, they try'd to make them as infamous as poſſible.

During the Miſunderſtanding with SPAIN, the Accidents at Sea furniſhed them with moſt enflaming Topicks of Invectives, and their Harangues were employed

ployed upon these dreadful Depredations, 'till they had fired the trading Towns with Clamours against the Ministers. Though it might be proved, as it hath appeared on the Examination in Parliament, that all the Depredations since the *Cessation of Arms* preceding the *Peace of Utrecht*, never amounted, at a *Medium*, to the Value of *Five Thousand Pounds* a Year; which, if it be computed with Relation to the *Jamaica* Trade, hath not been, in the whole Time of TWENTY YEARS, *Twenty Shillings per Cent* upon that Trade; and in Relation to the *private Commerce* carried on with the *Spanish West-Indies*, it hath not amounted to *Two and a half per Cent*, upon the whole Value of that Trade: Yet as much Noise and Uproar hath been made on this Subject, as if the whole Trading Interest of *Britain* had been sacrificed, and all the Merchants made Bankrupts by these Depredations. At length, when nothing else was thought possible to satisfy the Clamorous and the Uneasy, the King's *Ships of War* at *Jamaica*, during this last Summer, had Instructions to make Reprizals. And what then? Why the Merchants would not consent to it. They most strenuously sollicited Admiral *Stewart* against it; for that the Destruction of the *Trading Ships of Spain*, would occasion a stop to all

their PRIVATE COMMERCE in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies:* And thus ended the fierce Uproar upon that important Affair.

The Adminiſtration however have, notwithſtanding theſe inconſiſtent Clamours of particular Merchants, given freſh Inſtructions to the ſame Admiral, that he ſhall make Reprizals with all poſſible Vigor. Nor hath their Care been wanting at the *Court of Seville*, where to their Zeal it hath been owing, that the Governors of *Porto Rico* and *San Domingo* have been diſgraced, for having countenanced ſuch Depredations on our Commerce. Thoſe Governors have been ſent for Home in Irons, to anſwer the Charge. Strict Orders have been ſent to *New Spain* by his *Catholick Majeſty*, for the Prevention of theſe Grievances and Complaints for the future. Commiſſaries have alſo been appointed on his Part, to treat with ours, in order to make Satisfaction for all former Loſſes of this Kind: And as a Beginning of the Reparations which they are to make the *Subjects of Britain*, the *Spaniſh Court* have already paid a large Sum of Money to the *South Sea Company*, in Retribution of ſome former Seizures.

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Can any Man conceive that all this Hurricane of Oppoſition hath not coſt the Nation immenſe Sums; that foreign Princes have not been obſtinate in Proportion to the Difficulties and Diſtreſs of the Adminiſtration at Home; that the Courts Abroad did not perceive that the longer they delayed an Accommodation with us, the more uneaſy theſe Patriots would make the People; and that the Miniſters were under the ſtronger Neceſſity of Peace Abroad, in Proportion to theſe Feuds at Home? Let any Man who doubts this, read Lord LEXINGTON's Letter from MADRID in the latter Part of the late Queen's Time, where he gives an Account of his Converſation with *King* PHILIP, about the *Catalans*. *We know*, ſays that Prince, *that the Peace is as neceſſary to you as it is to us, and that you will not break off the Negotiations for a Trifle*. This was the Language of that Time, and there can be no doubt that the ſame Logick hath been made uſe of ſince, though there is a moſt material Difference between the Neceſſity of Peace under the two ſeveral Adminiſtrations. The then Miniſters made a Peace neceſſary to themſelves, by betraying all the Advantages of a long and glorious War into the Hands of the Common Enemy. The preſent Miniſters

ſters found it neceſſary, not from any Advantages which they had given to Princes in Enmity with us, but from the reſtleſs Strife of Parties at Home, continually working in Favour of thoſe Powers againſt the Peace and Government of their Country. Is this Patriotiſm, this the Cauſe of the People? Who can we charge with the Expence of *Additional Troops and extraordinary Supplies*, but thoſe who have eſpouſed, and even encouraged foreign Courts in their Quarrels with *Britain*? And yet theſe Men call themſelves *Servants of the Publick* —— Perſons who have drawn the Reſentments of the Miniſters upon themſelves, by the *mighty Good* which they have done to the People.

Whilſt they have thus been carrying on this Work of Diviſion among the People, it may deſerve our Attention to reflect how they have hated the *Prince on the Throne*. No Man can forget their early Profeſſions of Duty and Devotion to all the Royal Family. Their Quarrel was, they told us, altogether with the Miniſters; and they have the higheſt Senſe of his Majeſty's Goodneſs, tho' they had the utmoſt Abhorrence of his wicked Miniſtry. At his preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion, they offered up their Vows of Service and Fidelity to the World's End; they conſented to all

all that could be desired in Behalf of his *Civil List*; and were so very yielding, that, as it has been said, without any Denial or Contradiction, they offered His Majesty more than He thought good to accept: They would, we are told, have given Him THIRTY THOUSAND Pounds *per Annum*, even out of the SINKING FUND itself. But because this very reasonable Proposition had no Countenance, and their Schemes no Credit or Success, a formal War must forthwith be proclaimed with the Throne. The KING must be libelled in *abusive Parallels*, His *Royal Consort*, without any Regard to the Privilege of her Sex, most infamously insulted and the same violent Defamation made use of against *Majesty*, as had been so long and so liberally thrown out at the Persons in his Administration.

Had this been all that was attempted against the Person and the Family of our sacred Sovereign, nothing could excuse even this, but all must have treated it as a most wild and frantick Part, the idle Rage of a Lunatick. But when we saw the same Malice and Violence, which had appeared under the dark Coverts of libellous Parallels, throw itself into a much more formidable Shape, openly invading the ROYAL TITLE to the Crown, disputing

ting the Terms of Allegiance, ſtriking at the Ties between the Sovereign and Subjects of this Kingdom, denying the Prince on the Throne the common Supplies for the Service of the current Year, defaming *indiſcriminately* all the Meaſures of Sixteen Years paſt; aſſerting, that in all the Managements of ſo long a Space of Time, there had not even once been *the leaſt Intention of regarding the Good of the Publick*; and thus in all things aiming the Blow at the Foundations of our Happineſs; what Words can expreſs the Indignation and Amazement which ſuch Proceedings as theſe muſt create in thoſe who were Witneſſes to them!

Yet whilſt they have thought themſelves at liberty to vilify all Men after this manner, who had either a Share in the Adminiſtration, or any Attachment to it, not ſparing even the King and Royal Family, merely for approving it; hath there at the ſame time been a *corrupt Projector* or a *proſcribed Criminal* with whom they would not aſſociate themſelves, and whom they have not taken into their moſt intimate Councils? Whoever hath heretofore betrayed or ſold his Country, hath been entitled to a full Share of their Favour and Confidence, provided he would but once come into their Scheme of *deſtroying the Admi-*

Adminiſtration. Nay, the Merits of all ſuch Attempts were ſo conſiderable, that in meer conſideration of this, they undertook to juſtify *B*———'s Character; maintaining the Honour and good Faith of his Dealings, the Integrity of his Heart, and the ſpotleſs Innocence of his Life; whilſt the ſame Hand that had defamed the KING, the *Royal Family*, and *whole Adminiſtration*, became the honeſt, modeſt, and conſiſtent Advocate for *B*———'s *virtuous* Reputation.

It hath often been ecchoed in our Ears, that theſe noble *confederated* Patriots have made a moſt glorious Stand againſt Corruption; I cannot therefore neglect ſome Notice of their great Services in relation to the Bill which was obtained againſt that Practice. They have themſelves in one ſingle Corporation, ſince that Bill paſſed into a Law, ſpent above *Ten Thouſand Pounds* to turn the Election; I mean the Town of *B*——*d.* In the *City of* LONDON itſelf a very notable Attempt hath lately ſucceeded to improve the *Tory Influence*; and they have taken the Nomination of all *Workmen*, *Artificers*, &c. from the Court of Aldermen, where the Majority are *Whigs*, transferring this Right of Nomination to the Committee for

for letting the City Lands, where the Majority are *Tories*. I could name numberleſs Inſtances of Profuſion and Management in the great Work of *new modelling* Corporations; but I will not forget that of *L———le*, where *Fifteen Guineas* a Vote were given in the Election of a Mayor. Who then can doubt the Sincerity of our good Patriots in their Declamations againſt Corruption, or their ſincere Deſigns in framing Laws to prevent it?

Theſe, no doubt of it, are Inſtances, in their Apprehenſion, of the great Good which they have done to the People; and perhaps they will take it ill of me ſhould I neglect the Wonders which they have done in defeating Evils and preventing Grievances which never would have happened. It hath fallen to the Lot of the preſent Adminiſtration, that they have been obliged to anſwer, not only for things *which they have done*, but alſo for Things *which they have not done*. Whenever any dreadful and provoking Chimæra preſented itſelf to the viſionary Minds of theſe Men, inſtantly the Miniſtry were to be as much abuſed and vilified, upon the Suppoſition of their making unjuſt Attempts, as if they had actually made them. What is there that is wicked or monſtrous, which hath

hath not been imputed to their Deſigns? And when the Miniſters have cleared themſelves from the Imputation, theſe worthy Perſons have ſtill pretended to juſtify the Suſpicion. *Reſtraints of the Preſs* have ſometimes been attempted, and therefore the Adminiſtration have been charged with Deſigns to obtain ſuch a Law. *Acts of Grace* have been ſometimes obtained, and therefore the Miniſtry are to be charged with a View of procuring themſelves this Indemnity. *Members of the Houſe of Commons* have been ſometimes EXPELLED for being diſagreeable to former Miniſters, and therefore the preſent Miniſters are to be charged with Deſigns to expel whom they do not like, All theſe Accuſations have no other Support, than what can be drawn from this notable Reaſoning, *that the* worſt *Miniſters have made ſuch Attempts*, and therefore we are to believe the *worſt* of the *preſent Miniſters*, though they never ſhewed in their Lives any ſuch Diſpoſitions, but always acted diametrically oppoſite to them. Nay, though they do this, though they act ever ſo uprightly, yet ſtill the juſt Reward of Integrity is denied them. They are ſaid to have no good Meaning even in good Actions. They are charged with all the Guilt of bad Deſigns, which never were in their Hearts; and

that thoſe Deſigns which never exiſted, have not been attempted, is wholly aſcribed to the Diſcoveries of thoſe who found them out before they had a Being.

Will the *People of England* think that theſe Proceedings are meant for their Good? Or that thoſe who carry them on are their Friends? Will they hold and maintain, that all this Outrage and Violence hath no other Source than the Love of their dear Country? Or that it hath no other End than the Happineſs of us, and of our Poſterity? That there is no Ambition or Avarice in this mighty Hunt after Power and Wealth? That there is no Revenge in all this Flame of Paſſion? No arbitrary and tyrannical Nature to be ſeen in ſo much lawleſs riotous Uproar? Will the People think that THIRTY THOUSAND Pounds *per Annum* was offered out of the SINKING FUND, purely for their Advantage and Benefit? That Applications and Negotiations were carried on in *Courts* and *Cloſets* by theſe *Country Patriots*, merely for the Sakes of their beloved Friends the People? That *Vows of Deſtruction*, SOLEMN LEAGUES *and* COVENANTS, *bloody Aſſociations*, and *horrid Imprecations*, were made from a Paſſion of ſerving the Pub-

lick, from no private Rancour of Heart, or from no bitter and vindictive Spirit? That Converſations *Eleven Years* old were trumped up and publiſhed for the Good of Mankind, and infamous *private Scandal* vented for the Welfare of the Publick? That Domeſtick Life, and the little Affairs of Neighbourhoods, have been drawn into Print for the Service of a Nation? Or that thoſe Men who acted in this Manner merit their Affection, or have ſhewn them any Marks of Love? Whoſe Cauſe then have they carried on, but their own *little dirty partial Strife?* Or what Adherents ought they to have, but their *Tools* and *Mercenaries* only?

When they made Alliances with the *Patrons of the Peace of Utrecht*, and put themſelves under the Direction of thoſe able Stateſmen, did they do this for the Reformation of our Councils, and for the Refinement of our Negotiations? When they took to their Aſſiſtance the *worthy Projector* and *Conductor* of the *South-Sea Scheme*, did they mean by his Advice to *better regulate* the Finances? Did they enter into this Union with the Author of the CANADA EXPEDITION, out of Indignation againſt the *Contract* of *Forage?* Or did they make their Peace with the Author

Author of the *Third and Fourth Subſcriptions*, from Abhorrence of the *Bank Contract?* When they entered the Liſts to plead for *B*———'s Fame, was it meant for the Good of the Nation? Or had they the Intereſts of the People at Heart, when they lamented the Spirit of Party, which kept that juſt and upright Man out of the Adminiſtration? Theſe are the Men who have been the *Servants of the Publick* for *Five Years* paſt; now let the People judge themſelves what *Wages* they ought to give them.

But ſince they have pleaded their *Services to* LIBERTY, as the ſhining Merit of their Oppoſition, I will give ſome Account of their *Political Creed*, concerning the *Freedom of the Preſs*. It is, in their Opinion, an unbounded Licenſe to abuſe all Perſons, and all Things; to blaſt the fair Reputation of any Man; and to aſperſe the beſt Councils of any Miniſtry, without being made accountable for any Means, right or wrong, which they think fit to make Uſe of, and without being obliged to anſwer for the Truth or Juſtice, or Equity of their Proceedings. It is a Liberty to publiſh, or if proper Occaſion require it, to invent any PRIVATE CONVERSATION, however diſtant

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in Time, or ſcandalous in its Nature, or uſeleſs or foreign to the Publick. It is a Liberty to print *Family* and *Domeſtick* Tranſactions; the *Tittle Tattle* of *Neighbourhoods*, and the *Scandal* of *Tea Tables*. It is a Liberty of Writing, without being confined to Truth; a Liberty of Lying, without being liable to Reſtraint or Puniſhment; and a Liberty of defaming, without being obliged to make Reparation for any Wrong, or Satisfaction for any Injury.

By their Deſcriptions and Definitions of Liberty, Injuries done to a Nation by Writing are not criminal, nor ought to be accounted for; the Publick hath not the Right of a private Man, and a Miniſter's Fame is in a worſe Condition than that of the meaneſt Subject; any defamatory Lies may be circulated againſt him, any odious Deſigns falſly laid to his Charge. It is honeſt, great and laudable to deſtroy his good Name by any Means, merely becauſe he diſcharges Truſts of a high Nature. He may be abuſed innocently for what he is innocent of. Juſtice is to correct all the Members of the Body but the Tongue, all the Inſtruments of Action but the Pen, and all the Vehicles of Scandal but the Preſs. No Diſtinction is to be made be-

between the Uſe and Abuſe of popular Rights: So that by this Doctrine, Liberty, like a Sword, is put into Mens Hands, not only *for Defence*, but even for *Deſtruction*; and whatever Havock is made, wickedly or wantonly made, it is not to be accounted for.

Any one, unacquainted with theſe worthy Perſons, would think from their large Demands of Liberty, and the vaſt Extent to which they ſtretch it, that they make mighty Allowance to other Men. But they are as narrow in their Notions on one Side, as they are boundleſs and unconfined on the other. Thoſe who ſometimes have incurred their Diſpleaſure, have occaſionally felt the *Weight of Cudgels*, even almoſt to ASSASINATION. Thoſe who have ſeverely enquired into their Conduct, and thought fit to appear againſt their Proceedings, have been threatned and menaced with ANOTHER KIND OF ANSWER. When their publick Attempts have been debated, they have made Reprizals on the imputed Author, by attacking his private Circumſtances; inſomuch that his Dreſs, his Air, his Geſtures and perſonal Characteriſticks have been made the Subject of publick Ridicule; nay, whenever any Pamphlet

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or Paper hath appeared, which either provoked their Spleen or their Malice, they have uſed it as a conſtant Pretence to abuſe whomſoever they wanted to revile; and whether the Perſons attacked were Authors of the Writings, imputed to them, or otherwiſe, they conſtantly reviled and defamed them, as the Authors, in many Caſes too, where they knew of a Certainty that ſuch Perſons had no manner of Concern in the Writings of which they were accuſed; ſo that Miniſters of State, Lords of Parliament, Prelates of the Church, and Members of the Privy Council, have been treated in this moſt infamous Manner, meerly to gratify the wanton and baſe Reſentment of thoſe, who had no other Way to vent their Rage and Scurrility againſt them, than by abuſing them for Writings which they did not write, and ſometimes never read. The *Chriſtianity* of an *illuſtrious Prelate* was drawn into Queſtion, meerly for writing a Defence of Meaſures which they were pleaſed to condemn; and they evidenced his *Writings for Liberty of Conſcience*, as a Proof *that would make his Chriſtianity ſuſpicious.* Monſtrous Immorality, and prodigious Inconſiſtency, for Men who pretended to aſſert

the Rights of Mankind! Whatever Liberty was taken againſt them, hath met with a conſtant Return of all the Violence which they could exert. They have even injured the Liberties of their Country, by overſtraining and abuſing them. They have made the great Privilege of a free Preſs almoſt a common Nuiſance, by their vile Proſtitutions, and their unbounded Licentiouſneſs. To the moſt cruel Defamation, they have conſtantly added the moſt abandoned Scurrility. And when they had laboured for ſo many Years to write out of Doors all Reverence for lawful Government, they wondered how any Man could think that they deſerved to be puniſhed; they appealed to the People as Servants of the Publick, and complained of Proceedings againſt their defamatory Libels, as drawn down upon them by Services done to their Country.

No Man who loves the Liberties or Happineſs of his Country, can delight in Proceedings even againſt Lies and Defamation, which may be equally turned in evil Days againſt the Voice of Truth and Integrity. But as to theſe Men who have wantonly drawn them down on themſelves, Who can they expect

ſhould

ſhould pity them? Did thoſe among them who have been Miniſters, ever ſhew the leaſt Regard to the *Liberty of the Preſs*? Were they even ſatisfied with the *Common Laws* of the Kingdom? Were they not ſolicitous, eagerly ſolicitous for new Reſtraints? Let theſe *Friends of the People*, as they call themſelves, ask their great Leader, *Lord* B——KE, how indulgent he was to popular Liberty during his Time of Authority? Let us judge from thence, what a tender *Guardian of our Rights* we have loſt through that *Spirit of Party* ſo much complained of, *which hath excluded him from a Share in the Adminiſtration*: Let us judge too, how our Rights and Liberties are likely to be protected, ſhould they ever reſtore him to that ſhare of Power which he ſo worthily loſt. But I fear they will not be ſo kind as to inform us of the Proceedings againſt the Preſs in his Time; nay, I am afraid that they will not admit the Charge, and therefore I am under the greater Neceſſity to explain it in a particular Manner.

The CRAFTSMAN, in his Paper Nº 4. *Friday, December* 16. 1726. Five

Years ago, when he firſt devoted himſelf a *Servant of the People*, ſet out with this modeſt faithful Account of Lord *B——ke*'s Adminiſtration.

" I muſt, *ſays he*, do the Perſons " then in Power the Juſtice to own, " that they generally ſuffered Writings " againſt them to be publiſhed with " Impunity, and contented themſelves " with applying Argument to Argu- " ment, and anſwering one Piece of " Wit and Satire with another. The " only Inſtances of any Severity which " we meet with, are burning the Bi- " ſhop of St. *Aſaph*'s immortal Pre- " face, and expelling Sir *Richard* " *Steele* the Houſe of Commons; but " we meet with no *grievous Impriſon-* " *ments*, no *expenſive Proſecutions* or " *burthenſome Fines*, in the Hiſtory of " that Adminiſtration."

I could not forbear citing this Paragraph, as I am a great Lover of Impartiality, and abhor to ſuppreſs any Part of the L—— *B——ke*'s Praiſe: Having done this, I will now ſhew the Proceedings in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to puniſh the Writers of thoſe Times,

Times, and the Attempts in the *Houſe of Commons* to reſtrain them.

February 1710-11. In the Infancy of that Adminiſtration, Mr. *Benſon* having wrote a Letter to Sir *Jacob Bancks*, againſt the Doctrine of the *Minehead* Addreſs, *that Kings are accountable to none but God; and Subjects bound to obey, notwithſtanding any Oppreſſion or Tyranny:* A Proſecution was ordered againſt Him, grounded upon the Pretence of ſome free Reflections on the late *Humane* King of *Sweden*'s Clemency to *Count* PATKUL. Vid. *Pol. State* of *Great Britain*, Vol. I. p. 373.

October 23. 1711. being the Firſt Day of *Michaelmas* Term, FOURTEEN *Bookſellers, Printers and Publiſhers*, who had then been lately taken up, and committed to the Cuſtody of Meſſengers by Mr. *Secretary* St. JOHN, for printing and publiſhing, appeared at the Bar of the Court of *Queen's-Bench*. Mr. *Darby* was among them, committed only for printing an Account of a Tranſlation of that Paſſage in *Tacitus*, which relates how *Ceſellius Baſſus* deceived the Emperor *Nero* with the Promiſe of an immenſe

menſe, but imaginary Treaſure. This, it ſeems, was interpreted as a Libel upon the then new Project of the *South-Sea Scheme*. Vid. *Pol. State*, Vol. II. p. 388.

On the third of *December*, 1711, Mrs. *Popping*, a Publiſher, was committed to NEWGATE, by a Warrant from Mr. *Secretary* St. JOHN, for publiſhing a Paper, called the *Proteſtant Poſt-Boy*, and the Printer thereof was taken into Cuſtody of a Meſſenger. *Vid. the ſame Vol.* p. 488.

September 4. 1712. *Hurt* the Printer was committed to NEWGATE, by a Warrant from the *Lord Viſcount* BOLINGBROKE, for printing and publiſhing the *Flying-Poſt*.

September the eighth following, *George Ridpath* was committed to NEWGATE on the ſame Account, by Warrant from the *ſame indulgent* Miniſter. *Vid. Pol. State*. Vol. IV. p. 214.

January the 15. 1712-13, *Baker* the Publiſher was ſummoned to the *Lord* BOLINGBROKE's Office, on Account of a ludicrous Pamphlet, on which Occaſion

ſion diſcovering that the Author was *Thomas Burnet*, Eſq; he was diſcharged. But on the 24th of the ſame Month, his Lordſhip iſſued his Warrant againſt Mr. *Burnet*, and obliged him to give Bail for his Appearance at the *Queen's-Bench* Bar. Vid. *Pol. State*, Vol. V. p. 63, 64.

February the 21ſt, 1712-13, *George Ridpath* was try'd and convicted at *Guildhall* on the Attorney-General's Information for three Libels, publiſhed in the *Flying-Poſt*; which Information ſet forth, *that a Negotiation of Peace being on Foot, the Defendant, (being a notorious* Inventor, *and* Framer of Libels) *did publiſh thoſe laid in the Information, to ſtir up the People to a ſeditious Diſlike of the ſaid Negotiations.* Vid. *the ſame Vol.* p. 155, *&c.*

April 27. 1713. A Rule of Court being made, that the ſaid *George Ridpath* ſhould appear in the *Queen's-Bench* on the *Firſt of May* following; he withdrew from the Violence of that Proſecution, and his Recognizances being to the Value of SIX HUNDRED POUNDS, were eſtreated, and paid. Vid. *the ſame Vol.* p. 377.

May

May 19. following, an Advertiſement was inſerted in the *London Gazette*, ſigned BOLINGBROKE, promiſing a Reward of *One Hundred Pounds*, for the Diſcovering and Apprehending of the ſaid *George Ridpath*.

June 24, 1713. *Hurt* the Printer received Sentence for printing the *Britiſh Ambaſſadreſs's Speech to the French King*, and was adjudged to ſtand *three times in the Pillory*, to pay a *Fine* of 50 *l.* to be *impriſoned for Two Years*, and until he could find ſufficient *Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life*; all which he ſuffered accordingly. Vid. *Pol. State*, Vol. 6. *p.* 79.

Such were the Proceedings of an Adminiſtration, in whoſe Time the CRAFTSMAN tells us that we meet with no *grievous Impriſonments*, no *expenſive Proſecutions* or *burthenſome Fines*. Theſe few Specimens of their Lenity and Indulgence will therefore equally ſerve to ſhew the Mercies *of thoſe Miniſters*, and the Modeſty of the *Craftſman*.

About the latter End of *July*, 1713. Three Meſſengers and a Conſtable apprehended

prehended *Baker* the Publiſher by Warrant from the *Secretary of State*, for a Pamphlet concerning the *French Commerce Bill*; but when this *impartial Miniſter* was convinced that the Author was a *Tory*, he very candidly diſcharged the Publiſher, and dropt the Proſecution. Vide *the ſame Vol.* p. 118.

A like Inſtance of his Lordſhip's exceſſive Lenity and Moderation may be ſeen in BEDFORD's Affair. He was proſecuted by the *Whigs* for writing againſt the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, in that well known Book entitled, *The Hereditary Right to the Crown of England aſſerted.* Part of his Sentence was *to walk round* Weſtminſter-Hall *with a Paper on his Forehead.* His Lordſhip on this Occaſion ſent the Queen's Warrant, counterſigned by himſelf, and directed to the Judges of the *Queen's-Bench*, requiring them to ſpare the *ignominious Part of the Puniſhment*, in tender regard to his ſacred Function, as a Miniſter of the *Church of England.* Vide *Pol. State*, Vol. 7. p. 167, 362; 462.

DANIEL DE FOE was another Object of his Pity and Mercy. He had only wrote *Three* treaſonable *Pamphlets* a-

 gainſt

gainſt the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and in favour of the *Pretender's Claim*. A private Gentleman (Mr. *Benſon*) thought the Matter of ſo great Importance, that he begun a Proſecution againſt him on the Statute which made it HIGH TREASON to write againſt the Succeſſion. On this the *Attorney-General* had Orders to take the Proſecution out of this Gentleman's Hands, under pretence of carrying it on at the Queen's Charge. But inſtead of proſecuting him on the Statute which made it HIGH TREASON, he very charitably changed the Indictment into an *Information*, grounded on the *Common Law*. DANIEL was then tried, and found guilty; but ſolemnly profeſſing that he had *no ill Meaning* in writing againſt the Succeſſion, he was favoured with the *Queen's Pardon*, and thought a proper Advocate for the *French Commerce Bill*: So that his Lordſhip very judiciouſly ſaved him *from the Gallows*, to write in defence of that *uſeful Project*; which accordingly he did in a Paper called the MERCATOR.

It will equally ſurprize the World to read the *Craftſman*'s Panegyrick on the *tender Mercies* of that Adminiſtration, and his Complaints againſt the Proceedings

ings of the preſent. Why, the very leaſt Favour *Ld* B—KE ſhewed to a Publiſher, who had at any time happened to offend him, was to commit him immediately to NEWGATE. Have any of the *Craftſman*'s Agents ever ſuffered any Severity like this? But had his Lordſhip confined his Reſentment within the Bounds of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, leſs might have been ſaid of his Kindneſs to the Preſs, and his great Indulgence to Authors.

There is no Clamour that hath been more violently raiſed againſt the Miniſters, or with leſs Truth, than the Deſign of *reſtraining the Preſs by Act of Parliament*; a Deſign which they always abhorred, and moſt ſolemnly diſavowed, and which they have never attempted in any Shape, or by any Means. But what will the World ſay, if they find theſe very Men who have aſperſed the Miniſtry *falſely* with this odious Deſign, attempting this Reſtraint themſelves, and labouring it with all their Might, during their Time of Power? This let the *Journals of both Houſes* teſtify for our more certain Information.

January 17. 1711-12, (as I obſerved in another Point very early in the Adminiſtration) Mr. *Secretary* St. JOHN delivered to the Houſe of Commons a Meſſage from the QUEEN, under the *Royal Sign Manual*, the Eighth Paragraph of which was this:

ANNE REG.

HER Majeſty finds it neceſſary to obſerve, how great Licenſe is taken in publiſhing falſe and ſcandalous Libels, ſuch as are a Reproach to any Government. This Evil ſeems to be grown too ſtrong for the Laws now in Force. It is therefore recommended to you to find a Remedy equal to the Miſchief.

St. James's, Jan. 17, 1711.

Upon the reading this Meſſage, it was among other Things reſolved, *That this Houſe will take the moſt effectual Courſe to put a ſtop to the publiſhing thoſe falſe and dangerous Libels, which have expoſed her Majeſty's Government to Danger and Reproach.*

The next Day Sir *Gilbert Dolben* reported to the Houſe, the Addreſs drawn up in Anſwer to her Majeſty's Meſſage; which Addreſs concludes in this remarkable Manner. "We

" We are very ſenſible how much the " Liberty of the Preſs is abuſed, by " turning it into ſuch a Licentiouſneſs " as is a juſt Reproach to the Nation; " ſince not only Falſe and Scandalous " Libels are printed and publiſhed a- " gainſt your Majeſty's Government, " but the *moſt horrid Blaſphemies* againſt " GOD and *Religion*. And we beg Leave " humbly to aſſure your Majeſty, that " we will do our utmoſt to find a Reme- " dy equal to this Miſchief, and that " may effectually cure it.

The ſame Meſſage was ſent to the *Lords*; but in their Addreſs to the Queen, they very wiſely took no Notice of the Matter.

The next Step was to go into a *Committee* on that *gracious Part* of the Queen's Meſſage thus brought into the *Houſe of Commons* by Mr. *Secretary* ST. JOHN.

Accordingly *June* the third, 1712. Sir *Gilbert Dolben* reported from that Committee, the Reſolutions which had been taken, and they were as follows.

RE-

RESOLVED,

1. " That the great Liberty taken " in printing and publiſhing falſe, ſcan- " dalous and impious Libels, creates " Diviſions among her Majeſty's Sub- " jects, tends to the Diſturbance of the " Publick Peace, to the Increaſe of Im- " morality, Profaneneſs, and Irreli- " gion, and is highly prejudicial to her " Majeſty, and her Government.

2. " That the want of a due Regula- " tion of the Preſs is a great Occaſion of " this Miſchief.

3. " That all Printing Preſſes be re- " giſtred with the Names of the Own- " ers, and their Places of Abode.

4. " That to every Book, Pamphlet " and Paper, which ſhall be printed, " there ſhall be ſet the Name, and Place " of Abode of the Author, Printer and " Publiſher thereof.

5. " That no Bookſeller, or other " Perſon, ſhall ſell or diſperſe any Book, " Pamphlet or Paper, to which the " Name, and Place of Abode of the " Author, Printer and Publiſher, ſhall " not be ſet.

Thoſe

Thoſe Reſolutions were read, and agreed to, and a BILL was ordered to be brought in purſuant to the ſame.

To the matchleſs Honour of the ſame *Houſe of Commons* I muſt alſo remember, that on the 11th *Day* of *April* they voted the *Memorial of the States General*, in Vindication of themſelves from a Cenſure paſſed on their Conduct, to be a *pretended Memorial*, as alſo a *falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious Libel*; for which they ordered Mr. BUCKLEY, who tranſlated and printed it, into the Cuſtody of the *Serjeant at Arms* attending their Houſe.

In the Month of *June*, an *Order of Council* was made at *Kenſington*, offering a Reward of *Fifty Pounds* for diſcovering the *Printers* and *Publiſhers* of the Reaſons, which *Twenty Four* of the Lords had entered on the Journals of their Houſe againſt the PEACE OF UTRECHT; ſo that the then Miniſtry would not even ſuffer the *common Proteſts* to be printed.

On *Tueſday* the 10th of *June*, the *Houſe of Commons* read a *firſt time* the Bill *for reſtraining the great Licentiouſneſs of the Preſs*, and ordered it to be read a ſecond time.

After

After which they voted the BISHOP *of* ST. ASAPH's *immortal Preface* malicious and factious, ordering that it ſhould be burnt by the *common Hangman*; which was done accordingly.

The Buſineſs of Parliament being put an End to on the 21ſt of *June*, the laudable Project of *reſtraining the Preſs* dropt for that Year; but it was too much at the Hearts of its Patrons to be quite laid aſide.

April 9, 1713, the Parliament again aſſembled, and to convince the World that the *Reſtraint of the Preſs* was neither to be deferred nor forgot, the QUEEN in her *Speech* was adviſed to expreſs her ſelf thus:

" Several Matters were laid before " you laſt Seſſion, which the Weight " and Multiplicity of other Buſineſs " would not allow you to perfect; I " hope you will take a proper Oppor- " tunity to give them due Conſidera- " tion.

" I cannot however but expreſly men- " tion my Diſpleaſure at the unparal- " lelled Licentiouſneſs in publiſhing ſe- " ditious and ſcandalous Libels.

" The

" The Impunity ſuch Practices have " met with, encourage the Blaſphem- " ing every thing Sacred, and the " Overthrow of all Religion and Go- " vernment.

" Proſecutions have been ordered; " but it will require ſome new Law to " put a ſtop to this growing Evil, and " your beſt Endeavours in your reſpe- " ctive Stations to diſcourage it."

The Lords with the ſame good Senſe as before, avoided making any Anſwer in their Addreſs to this Part of the Speech.

But the COMMONS, *April* 18th. Ordered a BILL to be brought in, *to prevent the Printing and Publiſhing of blaſphemous, treaſonable, ſeditious and ſcandalous Libels, and for the better Regulation of the Preſs.*

What now was the Conſequence of all this laborious Enterprize to reſtrain the Preſs? Why after *Lord* B——KE and his Collegues in Power had done all that they could, had engaged the QUEEN in preſſing this Point for two

Seſſions ſucceſſively, and had perſuaded the *Houſe of Commons* to order in *two ſeveral Bills* for that Purpoſe: Their own Party mutiny'd againſt them, and their own Friends obliged them to give it up. In the End an Expedient was agreed upon; they refer'd the Bill to a *Committee of Supply*, where it being taken into Conſideration, they impoſed the *Duty on all printed Papers*; and this they hoped would ſerve to *reſtrain the Preſs* in ſome Meaſure, by loading it with a new Charge. So that the TAX which we pay at this Inſtant for STAMPS on all *ſingle Sheets and Half-Sheets* of Paper, this *very Tax* is the Effect of *Lord* B——KE's Zeal againſt the *Liberty of the Preſs*, and every *Stamp* impreſſed on our Papers, is a *Memorial of his Labours to take away that Privilege.*

Nor was this Reſtraint a ſufficient Satisfaction to the then Miniſtry; but the QUEEN by their Advice almoſt directly *reproached* both Houſes of Parliament with having defeated Her *gracious Intentions to reſtrain the Liberty of the Preſs*. Thus Her Majeſty expreſsed Herſelf in Her Speech to Parliament, *March* 2. 1713-14. *I wiſh*, ſaid She, *that effectual Care had been taken as I have*

have often desir'd, to suppress those seditious Papers *and factious Rumours, by which designing Men have been able to sink Credit, and the Innocent have suffer'd.* So we see that this *Restraint of the Press* was the constant View of those Ministers, from the Beginning to the End of their Time of Power. There was scarcely a Session, there was hardly one Speech from the Throne but what was employ- to this Purpose. And yet what makes the Matter more astonishing, is that these very Ministers *begun the Work of Abuse*, carried it on in the most *outrageous* Manner, and countenanced more *Licentiousness on their own side*, than ever had been known in the Kingdom.

I had not been so particular in this Detail of those Measures, if those Men who clamour against the present Government for proceeding against Libels, had not set them the *strongest* Examples in every shape, for punishing and restraining all such Writings; some Examples indeed which they never were inclined, and I am assured never will be prevail'd on to follow. God forbid that the present Administration should pursue any such wicked Scheme of restraining the Press; nor am I fond of recommending

Pains and *Penalties* againſt any Man; but when theſe Men complain of Puniſhments which ariſe only from the *known Laws* of their Country, they Clamour againſt that very Uſage which they have inflicted upon other Men, and declaim at Proceedings which they continually made uſe of whilſt they were in Power, and had the Laws on their ſide. Is it not monſtrous that *B*——— ſhould cenſure Proſecutions againſt *his own Libels*, who proſecuted all the Writers againſt him *as Libellers*; and that he ſhould appeal againſt the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, who not only proceeded againſt his Adverſaries in that way, but even in the *Houſe of Commons* procuring MEMBERS to be expell'd for having wrote *againſt his Meaſures*: And not content even with theſe Severities, endeavoured with all his might to obtain a TOTAL RESTRAINT OF PRINTING, by propoſing that all *Preſſes* ſhould be *regiſter'd*, as alſo that all *Writers*, *Printers* and *Publiſhers* ſhould be obliged to publiſh their *Names* and *Places* of *Abode*. Had this worthy Scheme taken Place, what a bleſſed Situation would this *Servant of the People* have found himſelf in on his removal from the Adminiſtration? And how uneaſy would his

his Condition have been as a *Libeller againſt this Miniſtry*? He muſt have expoſed himſelf *perſonally* to the Power of rigorous Laws, and have ſet his Name to *all his Invectives* againſt thoſe Perſons *whom he hath libelled.*

Let me ask at the ſame Time, what hath this *preſent Miniſtry* done in the courſe of a *ten Years Adminiſtration* to prejudice the Freedom of the Preſs, or to leave the Liberties of their Country in a worſe Condition than they found them? Proſecutions grounded on the *common Law* have been the only ones attempted, and thoſe but ſeldom, nor directed at all but on great Provocation; nor hath any Paper been proceeded againſt as a *Libel* but what was really *wicked* and *immoral* in itſelf; nor hath any Violence been uſed in Trials of this nature, nor any but *fair* and *impartial* Juries returned, nor any Method made uſe of to *byaſs* and *corrupt* them; no Puniſhments againſt *Libellers* have been carried on out of the ordinary courſe of Juſtice. Have any Applications been made to Parliament, any Reſtraints on the Preſs recommended *from the Throne*, any *Bills* brought in, any *Reſolutions* taken, or even moved for againſt the Preſs?

No,

No, the preſent Miniſters have ſcorned and abhorred to make any extraordinary Attempt againſt their Enemies, whatever extraordinary Attempts may have been made by their Enemies againſt them. They have *burnt no Prefaces*: They have *expelled no Members* for Writing againſt them: They have deſired no *Committees* in either Houſe of Parliament to enquire after the Writers againſt them: They have *Impriſoned no Perſons on Suſpicion by the Power of Parliament*, nor taken any Meaſures inconſiſtent with the *legal Rights of the People*.

Can any one conceive, that thoſe Men who have wholly devoted themſelves to a *Contention for Power*, would if their Schemes took effect give any *Indulgence to Liberty*; that they who have on all Occaſions wherever they had Power *puniſh'd every Writer againſt them*; would if ever they ſhould be reinveſted with Power, *tolerate any Writer againſt them*, or that they mean any thing by their Demands of free unpuniſhed Licentiouſneſs, but to have Scope for their own Malice againſt all Men who do not concur with their Views. Who then can lament that they have received a Check

Check from thoſe Laws which they have offended; or who can think it abſurd that they ſhould be caught in their own Toils?

Have their Proceedings in any Caſe been meant or conducted for the good of the People? How then are the People affected by their particular Complaints? Did the People ever hear of theſe Men as *Servants of the Publick* till they could ſerve their own private Views in no other way? And how is it that they have ſerved the Publick? They have taken all poſſible Means to *diſtreſs* it in the Hands of the preſent Miniſters, that they might become able to *devour* it, by getting it into their own.

What I have here offered to the World hath been drawn from me by their *invidious* Appeal. And ſince they could not be content to abide a *legal Deciſion*, without provoking a *popular Enquiry* at the ſame Time; I have joined Iſſue with them; far from any view of inſulting them, and wholly with an Intention to ſhew thoſe Merits in a true Light which they have miſrepreſented, that they might raiſe unjuſt Pity and Concern. I am not aſhamed to own, that I have employed theſe

Pains for the ſake of thoſe Miniſters whom they defame; and whilſt any Miniſters are to my Apprehenſion ſincerely embarked in the Intereſt of their Country, I ſhall always account it *honeſt* and *laudable* to do them juſtice againſt their common Enemies. Let others falſely imagine, that *Popular Liberty* hath no better Employment than to *defame*, to *injure* and *wound* the deareſt Reputation of thoſe whom *private diſlike* may have deſtined the Victims of *Publick Deſtruction*. Be it my Part, and on this Foundation let me ground my Pretenſions to Praiſe, by appearing on the Side of injured Fame, and Men unrighteouſly vilify'd. Whilſt others arm the Hand of Freedom with the Arrows of back-wounding Calumny, give me the Privilege to ſhield the Innocent from wrong, and upright Men from falſe Reproach; nor ever let me think this Part *ungenerous*, nor ever let me think it unworthy of an ENGLISHMAN.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 6. l. 14. for Right r. Rights. P. 16. l. 14. for Conceit r. Concert. P. 18. l. 18. after the Words ſell us put a Colon inſtead of a Full Point; and inſtead of Whilſt the Abilities, read Whilſt, as the Abilities. And l. 21. add the Word ſo before the Words their Rage. P. 23. l. 4. from the bottom, for treated it, r. had reated it. P. 30. l. 21. for hated r. treated. And l. 26. for they have, r. they profeſſed themſelves to have.